19

Plain English:

Humbly offered to the

CONSIDERATION

OF HIS

MAJESTY,

And his GREAT COUNCIL,

THE

Lords and Commons

In PARLIAMENT Assembled.

London, Printed in the Year, 1690.

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ERRATA.

PAge 9. line 5. for *ſerv'd* read *ſeem'd.*
P. 11. l. 21. f. *wanted* r. *wonted.*
P. 13. l. 15. f. *inſtituted* r. *intituled.*
P. 14. l. 12. *Quæque ipſe &c,* put in after *good Behaviour,* l. 7.
P. 16. l. 10. f. *from* r. *for.*
l. 31. r. *by Law determined, before.*
P. 17. l. 1. f. *and* r. *a.*
l. 6. *dele of.*
l. 10. f. *theſe* r. *that.*
P. 27. l. 5. f. *then* r. *when.*
l. 15. put the Comma after *Mercy.*
l. *ult.* r. *did remain,* and *dele* the reſt.
P. 28. l. 1. after *muſt* add *not.*
l. 3. *dele not.*
l. 9. after *is* add *it.*
l. 12. f. *for* read *from.*

Plain English.

Obſequium Amicos, veritas odium parit.

IT has rarely hapned, that Plain English could ſteal abroad without being called *Malicious*, by them who could not anſwer it; or *Libellous*, by them who were deſervedly jealous of the Preſs, and therefore the moſt fitting Perſons to have the inſpection of it.

Hence the Betrayers of their Country, having fatned themſelves with its Spoils, were likely to have been tranſmitted to Poſterity, as Men of Merit for their *Loyalty*. And thoſe *Heroes*, who fought it out in the Breaches, and whoſe Blood has been the fruitful Seed of thoſe Liberties we now enjoy, to have been robb'd of their due Honours, which would have been transferr'd to others, who, as Magpies, or ſuch other inſignificant Things, cure Agues, were thought to have reliev'd their Country, as they hapned to be the laſt, tho' the weakeſt Aſſertors of its Rights.

Paſt and preſent Times, ſhew by what good Fortune they were found in that Cauſe, for which the noble Lord *Ruſſel* fell worried and unlamented by them, and without ſo much as their charitable Opinion of the State in which he died.

Nothing but a Liberty of Printing, given or taken, can hinder his Cauſe from being yet rendred Vile, and his Aſhes from being trampled on, without Rebuke, by every florid *Vindicator* of Murders in Form, but without colour of Law.

Thoſe Times which theſe Intereſted Writers would juſtify, are far from ſuch as *Tacitus* commends, *Wherein a Man might think what he would, and utter what he thought.*

But ſure I am, no Age is worthy of ſuch an Hiſtorian as *Tacitus*, wherein any Man may not publiſh without Penalty whatever he will ſet his Hand to, and for which he ſtands ready to anſwer the Law: without Submitting to the partial or weak Judgment of a mercenary Licenſer; who will take care that thoſe ſcurrilous Reflections upon our happy Settlement, and its Worthy Inſtruments, which he licenſes, may paſs uncorrected.

For want of fit Liberty, Princes have been abus'd, and Foundations ſap'd, without publick Notice: and whoever has ſeen and ventured farther than others, has been thought juſtly to ſuffer for being *righteous over-much.*

Be it as it will: As the Intereſt of my Country has ever had the Aſcendent over my Affections, be That, and Truth, my Licence.

The Cowardiſe of King *James* the Firſt, as it made him betray the Proteſtant Intereſt Abroad, naturally bred in him a Diſtruſt of his People, and ſervile Compliances with Foreign Princes, from whom he apprehended any Danger. This made him earneſtly ſollicite a Match for his Son *Charles* with the *Infanta* of *Spain*. The Father's Fears, as it is to be hop'd, rather than the Son's Inclinations, occaſion'd that flatt'ring Letter to the Pope which

hangs

hangs heavy upon *Charles* his Memory.

And though the Match took not effect, the Papiſts obtain'd thoſe Advantages, by a cunning management of the Treaty, which were not eaſy to be retreiv'd; and were confirm'd and enlarged by the Marriage with a Daughter of *France*, the miſchievous effect of which is viſible, in that amazing Liſt, which is to be ſeen in *Ruſhworth*, of Papiſts employed in that Reign in all manner of Offices.

Down-right Popery would not paſs with that King, But a *Laudean Prelacy*, or *Britiſh Patriarchate*, which was little better, had gotten poſſeſſion of his Underſtanding, and prevail'd upon that Prince, who, I believe, was a very good Man, to do thoſe Actions, which if he had not had the Church-men on his Side, would have blackned him, almoſt as much as the old Monks do any of his Predeceſſors.

As the Violations in his Time, of the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, are by no means to be juſtified; neither can any Man anſwer for his Diſcretion in loſing *Scotland*, meerly to gratify the Biſhops here: who could not be ſatisfied with Uniformity in their own Churches, without making *Scotland* damn all that would not believe in *Athanaſius*.

The Queen's Party finding the King's blind-ſide, ſtruck in, with ſeeming Zeal for the Church of *England*. But that they might ſecure a Retreat, if that ſhould not prevail, ſent ſome upon the Forlorn on the other ſide. And, as Biſhop *Bramhal* has rightly obſerv'd, till they came to acquaint one another with the Myſtery, many of them were ſurprized at encountring their Brethren in the Field. This muſt be ſaid of them, That though their Animoſities a-

mong themſelves may often proceed to great Heights, they never fail in joining againſt Proteſtancy.

Nor is it now to be doubted, but the Papiſts animated the Epiſcopal Party againſt *Scotland*, and againſt the Moderate of their own Members here. And inſinuating themſelves into the Leaders on the contrary Side, perſwaded them to break off all Treaty with a Prince, who would gladly then have yielded very far, and was not of a Religion which could diſpenſe with the breach of Oaths or Promiſes.

I find no Reaſon to disbelieve Biſhop *Bramhal* and Dr. *Du-Moulin*, vvho offer Proofs, That that King's Death was but in purſuance of Popiſh Reſolutions.

The Anarchy which followed is a large Blot in our Annals. The wiſeſt of *Cromwel*'s Counſellors ſaw, that this Government could not ſubſiſt without Kingly Power. And though his Reputation and Policy, for a while, kept up the *Protectorſhip*, or *Regency*, 'tis a Queſtion whether the then King of *Scots* would not have turn'd him out, if he had lived a little longer. However, the determination of his Power, or any lucky Accident to the King, naturally made way for the other's reaſſuming the Regal Authority.

Yet while he was out of Poſſeſſion, many of thoſe, who upon his Return made the greateſt boaſts of Loyalty, had either drawn their Swords againſt him, or ſervilely flattered the Uſurpers. Nor were the Papiſts the moſt backward in ſuch Submiſſions.

No Prince ever came to the Crown with greater Opportunities of making this Nation Happy, and the Proteſtant Religion the prevailing Intereſt over Chriſtendom, than K. C. 2. But

But the ground of our Misfortunes, next to the vow'd Revenge for the Death of the Father, was, That he had renounced the Proteſtant Religion abroad. The Proof of which is but too ſtrong.

Sir *Allen Brotherick*, who was with that King beyond Sea at the time of his firſt profeſſing the Popiſh Religion, has been often heard to lament the burning of his Journal, wherein the very Day and Circumſtances of it were entred. And I am aſſured that one of his preſent Majeſty's Chaplains, (Miniſter of the Place where Sir *Allen* died) can give an account of his Deathbed-Declaration of what he knew in it; with this additional Circumſtance, that it was done in the Abſence of the old L. *Culpeper*, who knowing of it at his Return, fell into great Paſſion, and told the King, he muſt never expect to ſee *England* again, if it ſhould be known there.

That Lord knew too much for a Proteſtant; and it was thought fatal to him to have had no more Jealouſy of a Veniſon-Paſty, than he had entertained of his Maſter.

The Lord *Briſtol*, who pretended, not to be of the Court of *Rome*, though he profeſſed himſelf of that Church, if he may be believed in what he proteſted to the Houſe of Commons, had given King *Charles* the ſame Advice which had been given to *Henry* the Fourth, *If he would be truly Great, to be more a Proteſtant than he was.* And perhaps this kept that Lord from receiving thoſe Advantages, which otherwiſe his Religion and great Parts would have intitled him to.

But I never heard that it fared the worſe with Cardinal *de Rhetz*, for adviſing that *King* in point of Prudence to keep to the Religion of his Country.

How-

However *Manarese*'s sanguine Counsel prevailed, and how secret soever it was kept, many had got the hint of it, which occasioned that Act, which made it so highly penal to say, That the King was a Papist.

At his first coming, his famish'd Courtiers were very greedy: And they who had made their Fortunes in the former Turns, or encreas'd them by a Neutrality, or compliance against their Principles, to be approved of neither by God nor Man, were best able to purchase Places of Trust and Profit. The old *Cavalier* had nothing but his Merits and Sufferings to plead; which how much soever they weighed with the King, were very troublesome to a needy Courtier; therefore they had recourse to two Pretences for turning them off: One was, That others had been us'd to Business, and therefore were more fit for it: The Other, That Reason of State obliged the King to win his Enemies, and to trust to the Fidelity of his Friends.

This was the Management, while the general Mart of Offices lasted; and while that King seemed to have no Inclinations of his own, but to Pleasure, and suffered himself to be carried, like a Child with Leading-strings, by his Ministers, and them who by driving away the indigent old *Cavalier*, engross'd the Name of *Royalists*.

The Services of others, who had ventur'd all for their Prince, who they believ'd injured, were past. But as most of them seeing the Tendency of the Queen's Party in the time of *Charles* the First, as much press'd an Accommodation between him and his People, as she dissuaded it; so they were, at the Return, for promoting an happy Settlement of the Nation. But the *Renegadoes*, or new Courtiers, outvied

vied them clearly in *Super-Loyalty*, and getting into Parliament, merited their ſitting together ſo long, that they became a Reproach to themſelves, and a Burden to the People, whom they loaded with unneceſſary Taxes to feed themſelves, and the new male and female infamous Courtiers.

They were the Men, who were the Authors of thoſe Laws which preſs'd ſo hard upon great part of the Nation, who could not bow ſo *decently*, and in ſuch *Order* as others.

Who garbled Corporations, and deprived Men of their greateſt Civil Rights, for a Ceremony either inſignificant, or of too great ſignificancy: As particularly the Sign of the Croſs, which their Canons have declared to be a Ceremony, whereby the Child is dedicated to Chriſt.

Theſe are they who conſented to the Repeal of the *Triennial Act*, which put it out of the power of the Court long to diſcontinue Parliaments, or to turn them off, when met, in leſs than fifty days.

Theſe required the Oath, in their Intendment, contrary to the fundamental Liberty of the Nation, whereby they would make the King, and them who are commiſſioned by him, to be as infallible, as their Severity againſt Diſſenters would argue the Impoſers infallible!

One would wonder how theſe Men, after they had ſhewn the Court that they were ready to merit their Penſions, ſhould ever be turn'd off by him.

They ſaw the Tendency to Popery plainly enough, but they were to make honourable Steps towards it. And therefore the King, not only finding their Salaries chargeable, but that they had ſome nice Punctilio's of Honour to be ſalv'd, propounded to them the granting him ſuch a Revenue for Life, as might

eaſe

eaſe their trouble of meeting for the future; which made them firſt look about them to ſecure the continuance of their Salaries: And from that time, being jealous that their Maſter was not ſo ſincere towards them, as their Truth to his ſeparate Intereſt might require, they began to think of their being *Engliſh*-Men.

But to return to the former part of that Reign.

Was it not enough to raiſe any Man's Indignation, to obſerve that King, often pointing at a threadbare *Cavalier*, who had waſted his Fortune, and moſt of his Blood, in the Service of his Father and Himſelf, to tell his Courtiers, *There goes as brave a Man as ever drew Sword in our Quarrel*, and yet not to relieve him from ſtarving.

The Papiſts, who under-hand played the Puppets which came upon the Stage, heightned the Reſentments of ſome for former Sufferings, and the Jealouſies of others, leſt many ſhould ſhare with them. And as the *King* could have an eaſy Abſolution for breach of his Word at *Breda*, the prevailing Faction gave him Colour for it, by taking the Matter upon themſelves.

And to countenance their not coming to *that Temper*, which the Nation expected, the firſt Sham-plot was raiſed upon Proteſtants: Great numbers of them were impriſoned without pretence of Law, but meerly for ſighing for Liberty, or ſhaking their heads at the miſtaken Change. The Commitments were ſo illegal, that they were forc'd to make an Act to indemnify them for this violent Oppreſſion of innocent Men; not being then ſo harden'd and fleſh'd with Succeſſes againſt the *Engliſh* Liberties, to be paſt fear, as they were upon the like Violences afterwards.

But

But though themſelves admitted their Proceedings to have been Lawleſs and Arbitrary, they had their deſir'd Effect, in making ſevere Laws paſs with eaſe againſt a ſort of Men, whom they rendred Traitors to that Power which ſerv'd till then to protect them with an Equal Hand.

Theſe for a long time bore the Brunt, till their Preachers being driven from them, their Trade ſtopt, civil Priviledges raviſh'd, and Families ruin'd, they were forc'd within the Church Walls; and no doubt but Jails, Fines, and Excommunications, aided with the Secular Power, are, next to French Dragoons, the moſt ready way to make involuntary Converſions.

But whether theſe were in earneſt or no, this Peace, though never ſo uncertain, was contrary to the Deſigns and Intereſt of the firſt Movers at Court, Who unleſs they could play one Party of Proteſtants againſt another, found they muſt yield to common Proteſtancy.

The Court therefore with ſuch a ſtretch of Prerogative, as was in the time of *James* the Firſt, exerciſed, in different Inſtances, by the Applauſe of the *Church-Men*, gave a general Toleration: Which ſome perhaps were ſo fooliſh as to own from the grant of the Crown. Others were glad that what they always thought allow'd by God, when it might be done without Sacrifice, was become ſafe and ſeaſonable.

Upon this, the Pulpits took the Alarum; they who had advanc'd an unlimited Prerogative, diſtinguiſh'd away their own Doctrine, which being new, ſeemed to bear the greater Latitude of Interpretation: The Eccleſiaſtick Drums called their Party to the Field; And they either wheedled or

out-voted the confiding Men who wiſh'd well to the general eaſe of the Proteſtant Subject: and underſtood not their Art, who were forward for it, to get an opportunity to betray it.

The King finding he could not help his beloved Papiſts that Way, again fell in with the Church; and great were the Endearments which paſt between them. The Duke of *York*, who acted with a pretended Compaſſion for thoſe Proteſtants which were oppreſt, was ſeemingly diſcountenanced. The Miniſters of State, even *Clifford* himſelf, (who profeſt himſelf a Papiſt at his Death) were zealous Sons of the Church of *England*. The Church and the Crown vied with each other in Complements; The Crown made every Ceremony ſacred, and the Church fetch every abuſe and enlargement of Power from Heaven.

In the mean while the Court were under-hand carrying on a deep Deſign againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the true Conſtitution of the Government. But *Rome* more ſubtile, gave ſo many ſeveral Parts, and it's Emiſſaries were ſo faithful to their helliſh Sacraments of Secrecy, that Plotters juſtled Plotters in the dark. And the King, who thought himſelf worthy to be truſted with the whole Secret, began to ſtart from them, at the diſcovery of their Deſign to take him off, as not having obſtinacy or blindneſs enough to run over all the rubs which lay in the way to the publick Profeſſion of their Religion: for which the Jeſuits thought all things Ripe.

The *King*, like one rouz'd from a Lethargy, ſeemed to have a new Life, and to infuſe Spirits into the Nation; the generality of which diſtruſted as little as they were Guilty. But when day-light was

let

let into their Deſigns, almoſt all profeſſing themſelves Proteſtants, join'd in proſecuting the Plot, till ſome tracing it to *Whitehal* and St. *James's*, durſt not move further.

Others fearing the Effects of that general Union among Proteſtants, dangerous to Arbitrary Power, and to Engroſſers of Preferments in Church and State, which that was likely to occaſion, uſed all their Art and Induſtry to ſtifle or baffle the Diſcoveries, till at the laſt they turn'd the Plot upon them, who ventur'd furtheſt in unmasking the Plotters.

'Tis well known who oppos'd bringing them to Juſtice; Nor is it to be doubted who were at that time moſt Friends to the Liberties of the Subject. The *Habeas Corpus* and Teſt-Acts, which King *Charles* his Fright obliged him to Paſs, were yielded to the importunity of the *Whiggs*, who were known to have the far greateſt Majority in Parliament, while the others, tho with unequal Numbers, fought it out with their wanted obſtinacy againſt what was ſo diſpleaſing to the Court, and with great Solicitation, they got their beloved Duke, (whom they knew to be a Papiſt) excepted out of that noble Act, which otherwiſe would have turned him out of the Houſe of Lords.

Being got rid of theſe Liberty and Property-Men, they fell to Fining, Impriſoning, Murdering, and Aſſaſſinating thoſe who durſt be honeſt at the hazard of their Fame, their Fortune and their Lives. And had King *Charles* liv'd but one Year longer, giving countenance to the barbarous Inſolencies of thoſe who deſervedly have been called *Tories*, *England* had been as a great Slaughter-houſe, and the Quarters of its beſt Patriots had been hung

up in all publick Places, to ſhew Men hovv dangerous it was to prefer ones Country before the humour of a prevailing Faction.

Then Court-Divinity and Law had almoſt run down Religion and Civil Right.

A Conformity to the faſhionable Mode of Worſhip was preſt, as neceſſary to Salvation; and whoever denied that the *King* could *make Laws* of his ſole Authority; Or, that the *Soveraign Power* which *makes*, *repeals*, and *diſpenſes* with Laws, was inſeparable from his Perſon, was thought no good Chriſtian, or good Subject.

The *Scripture* was thought to teach the Lavv of the Land, that to give Authority to *Scripture*, and the *King* to both. Nor is it to be wondred, that Men of ductile Reaſons ſhould hold this, when it vvas affirm'd by one of the Leaders, that *If the King be God's Vicegerent, he is upon that account as much above all, as God is.*

Theſe ſtrains of Loyalty from the *Pulpit*, were ecchoed back from the *Benches* at *Weſtminſter*, and in the Country, and followed vvith inhuman Worryings of all Oppoſers, till the late King mounted the Throne, vvith the univerſal Acclamation of that Set of Men, vvho vvere in ſuch a tranſport of Joy, that one vvould be tempted to think that they ſavv the Day vvhich their Wiſhes, Prayers, and Endeavours had mark'd out as the utmoſt limit to their Deſires.

That *King*, as he had reaſon, fell a courting that Party, vvhich had not only ſecur'd the Crown to him, but put it in great meaſure into his Power to manage, according to the Abſoluteneſs of his Inclination; not only by the Advantages over the Conſtitution vvhich they had put into his Hands, but

but by the *Salvo* for Prerogative, which ſome of them had deſignedly added to the Coronation-Oath, without Precedent or tolerable Pretence.

And though they were much diſpleaſed that he ſhould ſo ſoon unmask, and take away the Colours vvhich they vvere fond of, for impoſing upon their credulous Party the Belief of his being a Proteſtant, vvhereby he depriv'd them of that Reputation vvith vvhich they pretended to ſerve the *Church of England* of Arbitrary Power: yet ſtill they vowed Lives and Fortunes. And they vvho knew vvhat Reſerve had been in his Coronation-Oath for a Prerogative above or beſides the Law, thought themſelves obliged to pay that Obedience which they fancied he vvas thereby inſtituted to exact, as if the perverting the Oath by a Confederacy, could alter the Condition of an *Engliſh* King.

When the unhappy Duke of *Monmouth*, (vvho vvith the Roman *Marcellus*, experienc'd the *ſhort and unhappy Careſſes of the People*,) vvas drawn into the Snare laid for him, they not only inculcated the Duty of Fighting to maintain the late King in his Station, (vvhich many of them think themſelves not obliged to, in relation to this,) but vvithout any Regard to Proof or Juſtice, join'd in, or encouraged the clapping up all, vvho by their knovvn Zeal for the Religion and Lavvs of their Country, gave them the leaſt Apprehenſion of an Inclination to join vvith the *Duke*, or to reſcue the Conſtitution from them vvho had long made a Prey of it.

And if any Men had the Hardineſs to move for an *Habeas Corpus*, the exorbitant Bail which they requir'd at their Diſcharges, and the recording them as entred into it, for the good Behaviour; when no ſuch thing was mentioned at the time, nor would

have

have been conſented to, made the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe; nor would the binding over to this in a Court above ſuffice, but the ſame thing was required over again in the Country; every Man knows to what end this was, and how induſtrious they were to make, or find Pretences of Breach of the good Behaviour.

The unhappy Duke was led to the Block, and his Principles in relation to Civil Power, triumph'd over on the Scaffold, by Men who might have entertained him with Subjects more ſuitable to their Office; —*Quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui.*—

The late King, heady in all his Enterprizes, thought by the Conqueſt of *Monmouth*, the general Submiſſion of the Clergy to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, that Iron Rod which hung over them, the Doctrine of the *Pulpit*, and Surrender of Charters retaken, with Power for him to diſplace Officers at Pleaſure, till they might be cull'd to his Mind; he might do all things which the Cauſe of Holy Church required: and well he might, if he had but hit the right Key; Conſidering that the moſt extravagant Notions for abſolute Power had been more than Speculations, and were reduced and preach'd into Practice, even while there was an immediate Proſpect of his ſucceeding to the Crown, and acting all for the introducing of Popery, which hair-brain'd Prieſts could inſpire into a reſolv'd Bigot.

To the Divine Right of Succeſſion, whatever the Supream Law, the Safety of the People may require, a Right which they would allow no Law, Fault or Forfeiture, to alter or diminiſh, he owed his Crown, and to their other Illuſions the Opportunity and Temptation to do more towards accompliſhing his

Ends

Ends, than the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown could countenance, or the Courage of his Party otherwiſe attempt.

And while the nobleſt Patriots were ſingled out for Deſtruction, the People, like the hardned Jews, headed by their Prieſts, were taught to cry, *Crucify, Crucify.*

During which Ferment, the Fundamental Rights of the Nation were, with Safety to the Managers, ſhatter'd and betrayed by unpreſidented Judgments, for the Diſſolution of Corporations, and diſpenſing with Laws; treacherous Surrenders of Charters, contrary to Oaths to maintain their Priviledges to their Powers: which had certainly obliged Men to load the Courts of pretended Juſtice with the extorting them all, and not to commit that Ill themſelves, which they might fear from others.

I know they will ſay that many of them had not Money to make Defences: which could be no Pretence for giving greater Countenance to the Deſigns of the Court by a Surrender, than they could have had by Judgment by Default.

The moſt would extenuate their Guilt, as if it would have been to no Purpoſe to hold out, but dangerous to provoke a Court reſolved upon having them one way or other.

Theſe Men ought to conſider that the Succeſs the Court had in this Enterprize, was owing to the Encouragement many of themſelves gave in Practice as well as avowed Principle. And if all had given what Delays they could, in all Probability it had defeated the Deſign: However they ought to have expected God's Bleſſing in doing their Duty; and whoever omitted it out of Fear of provoking Men in Power, may, with Mr. *Hobs*, make the outward

Acts

Acts even of God's Worſhip, to depend upon the Pleaſure of the Prince.

But herein lay that *King*'s Misfortune, notwithſtanding the voluntary Sacrifices made to his black Purpoſes, that though he might have made ſure Work of it, by going on in the former Methods, and ſtill playing the prevailing Party upon them, whom they were ready enough to cruſh under their Feet: Theſe Methods were likely to be ſlower than could conſiſt with that immediate Freedom from the Exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion, and imploying Popiſh Officers, which his Engagements to *France*, and to his own Prieſts, urg'd him to.

This prompted him to impute his Deliverance from the Duke to the Aſſiſtance of Papiſts, more than Truth, or the forward Merits of others would bear, and to declare that he would not be deprived of their Services by that Law which incapacited them. To give the Papiſts the Praiſe, and the reſt of the Loyal Men the Apprehenſion that their Services would but make way for others more acceptable, might well make them look about them: And yet they proffered Licence to as many Popiſh Officers as the King for their particular Merits ſhould name, in vvhich caſe he vvould be ſure not to have been ſparing, but he juſtly expected more from them who were not uſed to deny any thing which he deſired.

If the ſole Reaſon for refuſing the King's Propoſal, had been the Breach of Law implied in it, 'tis not unlikely but they vvould as vvell have taken Notice of the aſſuming a Revenue by Law, determined before it was reſettled.

But they differing upon Terms, from that time the Pulpits and Preſs began to change their Note; then the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience vvas to be evaded

evaded and diſtinguiſh'd into nothing, and not concerning the Conſtitution of our Government; or a confeſſing that Clergy-Men had gone beyond their Sphere. And the aſſerting that no Laws can derogate from the Power of the Prince, vvas to dwindle into the Meaning of no more, than that the Prince does not forfeit his Power if he goes beyond them. And though all the Rights of the Soveraign Power vvhich *makes*, *repeals*, and *diſpenſes* with *Laws*, vvas maintained to be ſo inſeparable from his Perſon, theſe his *moſt illegal Commands had the Authority of Soveraign Power*; Yet the *Diſpenſing Power* was denied to have been ever allowed by them: And indeed they did not expect to have had it ſo ſoon turned againſt them that gave it.

Yet all this while the Principles were not renounced, but lay like *Goliah*'s Sword, for the Uſe of the Sanctuary. And as without the Spirit of Prophecy, it was foreſeen that it would be us'd again upon occaſion, the preſent Uſe of it as a Spiritual Weapon of ſome, vvho vvould appropriate the Church of *England* to their Faction, even againſt this Government, may ſufficiently juſtify the reminding them of the Service it did them in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and at the beginning of his Brother's.

And he who obſerves how proud ſome are of that Off-ſcouring which they ſeemed to caſt away, will not condemn thoſe Freedoms with ſuch Men, which the Cauſe of our Country makes neceſſary.

It muſt be owned that ſome Diſſenters, and others who had ſignalized themſelves by their Sufferings for their Country, finding a Relaxation of thoſe Severities under which they had laboured till they were ſpent, acted like Men newly come out of a

dark Houſe. Their Eyes were dazled, and their Heads turn'd round at the ſurprizing Change.

Theſe fawn'd upon the late King, almoſt as groſly as their Oppreſſors had done. And they either baſely, or imprudently, promis'd to promote the Repeal of thoſe Laws which were the beſt Fence they then had againſt Popery, vvithout providing for any other Security.

Some, 'tis likely, thought to over-reach the Court by ſuch mental Reſervations as are ever to be condemned. Others being too far tranſported with Reſentment, were rather for putting themſelves into the Hands of Papiſts, whoſe Cruelties they had only read in Story, or heard of at a diſtance, than into theirs, who they were ſure would ſhew them no Mercy.

Theſe Men I muſt leave to inherit their own Shame. But I believe they are as few, as Men who deſerve the Name of *Regulators*, who went from Corporation to Corporation, to model them after the Humour of the Court. Whoſe Parts admit of but two Excuſes.

The Firſt is, That what they did was according to a Power given the King, by thoſe very Men who complain of it.

The other is, That if the chief Rule was to take in Men of the Intereſt oppoſite to them who had been in Power, in all probability it was the Occaſion of having the Corporations in much better Hands than they had been in. And that they would be more regardful of their Oaths than the Surrenderers had been.

The moſt of them who have gone under the Character of *Whigs*, were ſuch, whom no conſideration whatever could draw an Hair's breadth from what

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they conceiv'd to be the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of this Nation. But knowing how eaſy and natural it was for the old Fondneſs between the Court and Pulpit, to return upon the leaſt yeilding on either ſide; to prevent that Ravage which muſt have been the Conſequence of new Acts of Love between them, when each muſt have given proof of their Sincerity, by Sacrificing to the others Humours and Paſſions, they took Commiſſions and other Offices, from which the former Poſſeſſors were lawfully diſplaced, either as their Grants had been at the firſt, only during Pleaſure, or as their own treacherous Surrenders had made thoſe which they had by Election as precarious. Though they could not give up the Rights of others, they no doubt diveſted themſelves.

Many therefore very honeſtly and legally ſucceeded into their Places, hoping thereby to be in Poſts which might give them ſome Advantage of Authority to ſerve their Country upon Emergencies. But ſtill they qualify'd themſelves as the Law requir'd.

They were aſſur'd that it was in the Power of the Court to lure their old Friends when it pleas'd. And upon a Reconciliation, totally to enſlave the Nation, notwithſtanding the continuance of Penal Laws and Teſts, by renewing ſome Commiſſions every three Months, taking in Papiſts, who might have Diſpenſations for all manner of Oaths, or others who would regard no tits of Religion: Or elſe by acting to ſuch height, as might remove all Dangers of the Execution of the Law.

Upon which Conſiderations, ſeveral who had appear'd the forwardeſt in the Cauſe of God and their Country, declar'd a readineſs to conſent to the quit-

ting thoſe diſtinguiſhing Laws, provided they might have ſuch in lieu of them as they ſhould chuſe.

This *Dilemma* was then familiarly us'd; Either ſuch a Security as we propound to our ſelves, will be granted, or it will not. If it will be granted, No Man who conſiders the Diſpoſition of them, who before were in the Government, and the ancient Conſtitution which they had violated, can deny, but if the Conſtitution could be reſtor'd, it would be a greater Security to the Nation, and Proteſtant-Intereſt, unleſs we tamely yielded it up when we were enabled to maintain it, than could be deriv'd from the particular Laws with ſuch Men to guard as had before betray'd them; and the care about thoſe Laws, vvhich could ſignify nothing, but as they were ſupported by the Fundamentals, was but the adorning ſome inward Rooms, while the Foundation was undermined, and the Edifice falling.

But if, upon the Treaty, ſuch Terms could not be obtain'd, after the proffer of whatever we could deſire, (and ſurely we might well deſire the Reſtitution and Security of Fundamentals) ſuch denial muſt apparently tend to the Confuſion of the Propounders, who then muſt be left to ſtand upon their own Legs, when they demonſtrated to all the World, That Popery was not only their Deſign in all, but vvhat they would carry on, at the utmoſt hazard, by themſelves and Foreign Force.

Indeed, to three ſorts of Men this Treaty ſeem'd diſhoneſt.

1. To them who believ'd that the Power which had been aſcrib'd to Princes was *inſeparable* from their Perſons; that vvhatever legal Limits vvere ſet to that Ocean, might of right be overflovv'd vvhen they thought fit. And that they vvho endeavour'd to give Bounds to it, not only unreaſonably diſtruſted

diſtruſted God's Providence, but acted contrary to his *Ordinance*.

2. To them, vvho alvvays conſulted their own Fears, or other Paſſions as vveak; and knovving that it vvas Criminal in themſelves to enter upon any Treaty vvith their Prince, becauſe of their common inability to deny any thing vvhich he ſhould inſiſt upon, (vvhich vvas evident enough in their giving up Charters for Fear of provoking) vvould, like Mr. *Hobbs*, make their ovvn timid frail Nature a Rule to Mankind; as if they vvho had upon all Occaſions ſhevvn, that neither the moſt diſmal, or the moſt flatt'ring Proſpects could alter their Reſolutions, ſhould, of a ſuddain, receive a transfuſion of Sheeps Blood from the others, and their Veins had ſvvallovv'd up all the Manhood.

3. To them vvho vvere for Ingroſſing all Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Preferments to themſelves, and Men of their *Super-conformity*, and therefore vvere for keeping all things upon the ſame narrovv Bottom; leſt if there vvere a Relaxation of Terms or Penalties, even to Proteſtants, there ſhould have been too many Sharers in thoſe Benefits vvhich made them cry ſo loud for the Church of *England* by Lavv eſtabliſh'd. By vvhich many of them meant, not ſo much the Common Proteſtant Religion profeſs'd in this Nation, as thoſe Diſtinctions, vvhich vvhile they enrich'd one Party of Proteſtants, diſabled all others from aſſiſting againſt the Common Enemy, and loaded the Men of Noiſe vvith *Demetrius* his Character.

If this Proteſtant Nation had, during the laſt Reign, had the guarding their Religion and Laws, in ſuch a manner, as not only the Wiſdom of Parliaments might provide, but our Conſtitution has

allow'd

allovv'd at all times, vvhen all confidence betw een Prince and People vvas broken, could it be imagin'd that in this Age of Light, Popery could have made ſuch advances as it did, vvith that ſtraining of Prerogative, to vvhich the Court had been encouraged, even vvhen it vvas as evident that it vvas intended, as when it raſhly appear'd bare-fac'd.

Nor can they who were for Expedients to ſecure the Succeſſion to a Papiſt in Reverſion, juſtly condemn ſuch points of Liberty as have often been obtain'd of Poſſeſſors, as Matters of meer Right; or elſe, as ſuch, left to the People undiſputed.

The particulars I forbear to mention, not becauſe I cannot ſhew and prove them; but becauſe ſome of them have long lain buried in the venerable Ruins of Antiquity, and ought not to receive Prejudice in being named, when one cannot ſtay to clear the Honour of their Deſcent.

Much leſs can they, who were or are for Receiving the *abdicated King*, with or without Terms, upbraid thoſe who were for Treating, before they knew of his *preſent Majeſties* generous undertaking our Reſcue.

And when it was to be apprehended, that if the late King could have the Advantage of taxing all Parties with an obſtinate Refuſal, to liſten to Terms for their Security, the Numbers of Iriſh which were actually here ſhould have been follow'd by French Dragoons: and he might have gain'd the ſame advantage over thoſe who would liſten to no Equivolents or Expedients, which it is but too viſible that his Brother did.

Nothing more expoſes a Party, than to find thoſe very things in which they ſeem'd to place the eſſen-

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tial Difference from all others, to be quitted by them, as ſoon as Intereſt changes. Who therefore could chuſe but ſmile to obſerve, that ſome who had urg'd, that Princes ought to be obey'd in all their Commands, not contrary to God's Law, ſhould refuſe to read the Declaration for Liberty to Diſſenters?

That they who blam'd Men for unduti fully fetting Princes, ſhould, when they were well back'd, make Overtures little ſhort of the nineteen Propoſitions to *C.* 1?

Or that they, who muſt admit that our Diſſenting Biſhops did not ſcruple inviting the Prince of *Orange* to take the Government upon him, before the late King left the Kingdom, ſhould contend, that they are the only true Sons of the Church, who left all things to God's Providence, without interpoſing themſelves till he was actually gone?

Or who could have expected that that Biſhop, who but a little while before, had rebuk'd a very worthy and prudent Divine for preaching againſt Popery, ſhould have been one of the Seven?

Or that he who mightily applauded the late King's League with *France*, as a proper means to curb the Fanaticks, ſhould have been another?

Or that he who maintained the *Real Preſence*, in ſuch a manner, as gave offence to the greateſt Admirers of his Monkiſh Sanctity and Geſticulations, and gave countenance to the praying to Saints, by what he publiſh'd of their Interceſſion for us, while we celebrate their Memories, ſhould have been a Third?

Or that the Duke of *York*'s Chaplain in *Scotland*, whoſe Depth was fathom'd by Mr. *Marvel* in his *Parſon Smirk*, ſhould have been a Fourth?

I would by no means derogate from the Action,

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or rather Suffering, it was great for the Persons, lucky in the time, and crown'd with an Event, which it appears that some of them neither desired nor deserved.

But methinks it is not to be indured, that Ages of Sufferings in others, greater in Birth, and in all things truly praise-worthy, should be nothing in comparison with what befel them. The fulsom Praises which are given them for the first Act of that kind, would make one think, it was admir'd only for the Rarity, or extolled beyond measure out of a pious Design of encouraging Men too backward in the Cause of their Country, to go on in the right Path to Fame.

But they must not expect that it will be as popular for them to stand off from this Government, as it was to have contributed towards it.

Some who have been great Losers and Sufferers from the Violence of former Times, take a liberty of saying, That some Men deserve a Reputation for the opposition which they gave to a Popish *King*, no otherwise than such as herd with, or connive at Robbers, till they come to divide the Spoil, and then fall from them and make Discoveries, because they are not allowed that share which they merited.

However I think they are much more to be prais'd than they who either make some expres *Salvo* at the taking of the Oath of Allegiance to Their Majesties, or declare that 'tis implied; and that notwithstanding their Oaths, they may rebel without incurring Damnation. Nor are they obliged to assist with their Persons or their Arms, to keep this King in his Station.

Which may deservedly give a Jealousy of many who promise *Fidelity* to the King, according to their

their Oaths, in which ſome are guilty of as notorious Equivocations as the Jeſuits; and this is the rather to be ſuſpected, becauſe ſome of them abſolutely refuſe to thank His Majeſty for the Deliverance which he has vouchſafed us. If it be ſaid, that the Church of *England* is not concerned in this. I would gladly know how it could otherwiſe have ſubſiſted, and how long it could ſtand upon an Intereſt divided from all other Proteſtants; I ſay not meerly Proteſtant Churches, becauſe ſome will allow of no Church where there is no Biſhop, as appears plainly enough in the zealous Author of *Vox Cleri*. Some of theſe, contrary to what our *Saviour* tells us of his *Kingdom*, would have it to be of *this World*, and fear leſt if the Terms of Church-Communion ſhould be more comprehenſive of Proteſtants, they whom they call the only true Sons of the *Church* ſhould be out-voted, or of leſs Eſteem. Certain it is that the *lax* Interpretation of the Oath of Allegiance, which ſome of them make and publiſh, gives ſuch an advantage to the Enemies of the *State* to betray it, as no wiſe Government will ſuffer.

Two Queſtions may ariſe upon this tranſient view of Affairs paſt and preſent.

1. Which of the divided Parties, either *Whig* or *Tory*, have all along been trueſt to the Intereſt of *England*?

2. Which is moſt likely to be firm to this Goverment?

It muſt be admitted that each Party will reject ſome of their own ſide, as Reproaches to them.

The *Whigs*, thoſe who truſted wholly to the late Court; or, whoever they are, if any ſuch can be found, who prefer a *Common-wealth* before a *Mo-*

narchy, and are for altering this Form of Government, which the Wiſdom of paſt Ages has moulded as equally, as perhaps ever any was; for ſome *Utopian* State, or other vain *Chimera's* of their own Brains.

The *Tories* will now at laſt reject the Guide to the inferiour Clergy, and numbers of his Followers.

But when the Biſhops Impriſonment ſhall vie with the Deaths of the Lord *Ruſſel*, Col. *Sydney*, Mr. *Corniſh*, or even Mr. *Colledg*, (who wanted nothing but Quality to make him great living and dying): Then ſhall the coming into Offices by virtue of the Surrender of others, or declar'd readineſs to quit ſome particular Laws of known benefit, for the ſake of ſecuring the Foundations, be a Crime equal to Surrenders of Charters, and the moſt outragious Violations of the Liberties of the Subject.

Neither Party muſt be judged of by the Extravagancies of ſome of them; and both will caſt off them who have been ſometimes with the one, ſometimes with the other; and are to be found conſtant in neither.

But for a true Judgment of them both in relation to paſt Tranſactions, before his preſent Majeſty's Landing, it is to be enquir'd,

1. Which vvas moſt zealous in proſecuting the Popiſh Plot, notwithſtanding all the Terrors which encompaſs'd it?

2. Which made the moſt uſeful Laws? And, whether the *Habeas Corpus*, and *Teſt-Act*, or the Acts for unneceſſary and burdenſom Taxes, regulating or garbling Corporations, againſt the Religious Aſſemblies of numbers of good Proteſtants, for ſettling the

the *Militia* with ſuch Powers as are thereby given, and the Court-Oath, and that which repeals the Triennial Law, were moſt for the good of the People?

3. Which Party when in Power us'd it moſt according to Law? Or which ſtrain'd the Law, or the Prerogative for ſubverting the Fundamental Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government?

4. Which ſort of People, 'tis moſt for the honour of this Government to employ; They, who if admitted in, would raiſe a Jealouſy in the People, that the old Inſtruments of Oppreſſion are made uſe of, for the former ends? Or they, who always kept to the Laws, even while they were in Power, and while they lay under the Feet of Men without Mercy, ſuffer'd, though not with the Applauſe which the Biſhops met with, yet with the true courage of Confeſſors.

It may further deſerve Conſideration, Whether Men of thoſe Arbitrary Principles which the others profeſs at this Day, will ſuffer this Government to be defended, as it was founded upon the true Principles of Civil Right?

If their Principles are right, the late King could not act more arbitrarily than he had Divine Warrant for, and conſequently all the proceedings againſt him were groundleſs.

In relation to what has occur'd ſince his preſent Majeſty appear'd here, in vindication of the Cauſe and Rights of the good People of *England*,

It may be conſidered,

1. Who were for the Regency, *Whigs* or *Tories*?

2. Whether they who were for a *Regency*, were not ſo, upon the belief that the late King's Royal Power did remain?

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3. Whether ſuch muſt not, if they are true to their Principles, ſuppoſe the late King ſtill to be King *de Jure*, and conſequently look upon this as an Uſurper?

4. For a trial therefore which are for the Government; Suppoſe the late King ſhould land with *French* and *Iriſh* Forces; and his preſent Majeſty, as he certainly would, ſhould march to give him Battel.

Which is it to be preſum'd, if left to their Liberty, would venture all on his Side againſt the other? Would the Men for the Regency act againſt their inviolable Monarch, from whoſe Perſon the Soveraignty is inſeparable? No ſurely, *Touch not mine Anointed* would bind up their Hands as with a Sacred Spell.

'Tis the known perſwaſion of ſuch Men, *That People are made for Kings, as the Conveniencies of Life for the uſe of Men:* And therefore they have a Rule, That while a King is kept out of his Kingdom, his preſumable Intention is to Govern: And as it is to be preſum'd, that he would have his People preſerv'd till a good time for his Return, they ought to ſit ſtill while a Force is over them; But are to do nothing which may tend to his prejudice. How far that Rule has been obſerv'd, may be a proper Subject for a Second Paper.

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